I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Missionary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time religion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools, and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Pukapukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

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more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

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is known by the way in which the *lausi* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats, cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vanaŋa*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

Wakalongalongo mai koloa,* e to tasa' kolo ki te vanaŋa a te pule ko avatu ki a koloa ia. I a koloa, awe tuku koloa i a koloa tasa ke wakatokateka woa i te moto. Ke pukee moua i loto, e vayi loa, ŋaulepulepe. No i ai na aunai ia te vanaŋa ke longo koloa talinga. Wakamaulu koloa wakalolei. Ko te vanaŋa ia na aunai ai ki a koloa. Tangi ai loa ia te manu ia.

Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotoua* fern to use as fertilizer for village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

* Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *koutou*, *matou*. The former is used in all public pronouncements.

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One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

462 244 709

The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

557 587

Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 554

The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata matea*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

221

Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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the chief's executive (*uvola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te vananga*) to the several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te tolatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular, but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punishment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pulo pao* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

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and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial behavior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures. Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki kai kiko*, sickness caused by incest; *maki atua kino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te yuuvaga o te atua ki lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

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At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *palo*, *kamai*, and *manga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all three villages, together with a levy of 10 nuts for each adult and much prepared talo, are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the tapus governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *kahai* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

In former times women held mat-making contests (*maingaga panga*). A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*liaki na panga*) and chanting as they did so.

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by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and, in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuluea and Uyo (1) is instructive in this regard as showing the power of Taua. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throwing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (*kaleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign vessels or canoes:

The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata kanu* (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and i Tua, united as the *uai tuina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamaunga and Yayi, were together the *mali kauo* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *mata kanu* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the taro beds and came back quickly to prepare a hasty taro meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the taro beds to get taro to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for resistance.

No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans. In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.

539 trembled, his feet stamped up and down as he waited for Kupenga to return. When she at last came, Te Anga seized her, tore apart her thighs so that her genitals were exposed. He tied one leg to one side of his house, stretched the other leg to the other side and tied her two arms to posts. No part of Kupenga remained covered. The news quickly spread to the whole island and all the people came to watch.

Nothing like this had happened before on Pukapuka. Te Anga stood guard before his wife, armed with a spear and club. Unyielding, he threatened death to any one who dared try untie his wife. The men were frightened of the strength and skill of Te Anga. They cried out against the shame of the punishment and beat their arms against their bodies in helplessness.

Some men and relatives of Kupenga crawled to the noted warrior Kieilu and urged him to untie the woman. At first Kieilu refused to interfere but on further urging he promised to try. As the people and Kupenga's relatives and members of her maternal lineage stood about in shame at this exposed object on whom even the children looked, Kieilu crawled along the ground in abasement and spoke beseeching words to Te Anga, addressing him as a god, praying him to give way to popular feeling and make gentle his heart against his wife. Finally Te Anga relented. He told the people to untie his wife. They untied her and straightened her stiffened limbs made tight by a day's tying. But Kupenga was ashamed at this exposure. During the night she fastened an anchor rope round her neck and strangled herself. The whole island was disgusted with Te Anga and his punishment.

Stories of Theft and Homicide

538 The next group of stories is concerned with punishment for
677 two offenses; stealing and homicide. The first story, that
681 of Kaivai (Rascals) of Longolongo, tells of a group of men who set out systematically to rob their more slow-witted village friends. The events narrated in the story took place during the reign of Maina, after the seismic wave, and the excuse for their conduct--given in another record--is that in times of food scarcity it is no crime for a hungry man to steal the wherewithal to satisfy his hunger. The men were not physically punished because it was not the policy of Maina to put any man to death for anti-social behavior. When the men of the group died, however, they were all buried, regardless of their lineage memberships, in a common grave near the cemetery of Muliwutu, this disgrace being sufficient
538 punishment for the offense. The story incidentally provides an excellent account of the duties of the guard in control of the

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 [431] 653 851 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards. They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning. This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 828 577 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive practice of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to envision, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 159 182 Lina (girl), the adopted child of Mata and Lekau, comes back to Mata's house from working in the bush with Lekau, eats some food, throws off his headpiece and then starts to walk down the